

# **The development of the European Union's strategy and its security policy: towards a multilateral security?**

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## **Abstract**

This paper is looking forward an answer to the question of the multilateralism in relation to the European Union (EU) security policy. Is it possible to say that multilateralism in this field of study has increased in the present times? Are the multilateral institutions of the contemporary international system evolving adequately or is there a setback in cooperation between international organisations (IGO) in terms of cooperation? All these questions are made in a context of globalisation. The interdependence between actors is every time bigger and the actions of one of them can provoke some effect in the other side of the globe disappearing the space-time dimension. New and more complex threats have emerged putting the European security into question.

## **1. Conceptual framework**

Firstly, we must set out a subject of study as well as the methods that we are going to use to deal with that study. Secondly, the theoretical importance of the chosen subject will be discussed. Thirdly and after the second step, I will bring up a first hypothesis that will work as starting point to begin with the research and an initial bibliography either.

The subject of study is the development of the European Union's security policy from 2003 when creating the European Security Strategy to 2016, towards a multilateral perspective. The conclusion of this research will be drawn from the liberal approach in international relations, paying special attention to the process of trans-nationalization of the international society. People are living in an interdependent world where every act taken by an actor may influence the others. States are no longer the only actor playing a role in international relations. International organizations, NGOs and a long list of many new actors have increased, indeed. Many sources of information will be examined as it is stated in the bibliography at the end of the current document. I will use a specific database elaborated in 2015 by Danilo Di Mauro (European University Institute), Ulrich Krotz (European University Institute) and Katerina Wright (European University Institute) to create the most of the tables. The hypothesis will be supported by the Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) EU missions and operations and the relations between EU and other IGOs in each mission. I will pay more attention to the UN after the general partnerships analysis due to its special influence on the CSDP EU missions. This list of missions will be classified into two categories taking the time as a reference: from 2003 to 2008 and from 2009 to 2016.

The European Security Strategy created by the EU has become more multilateral. The interdependence and cooperation between EU, OTAN and other institutions with the aim of making Europe a safer place have been doing more obvious. When the peace of Westphalia in 1648 was established the nation-state's concept as we understand it today became the most important actor in the international sphere and a vital component if we talk about multilateralism. With the Versailles Treaty in 1919 and the end of the I World War the Nations League found (the precursor of the Society of Nations and the UN in a further future) and it started to develop multilateralism. In this way, we can see at the present how the multilateralism, even if it has been modified and has developed throughout the history, is no

longer a new mechanism. It has its roots in the past, so we can confirm the existence of a path-dependence when talking about multilateralism.

The security in Europe has been a hot topic due to the occurrences of the last years. For instance, the well-organised Paris attacks on 13th November and the attacks less organised by a “lone wolf” in Nice as well as in Berlin in 2016. The very latest news on international politics have made me focus on the security policy. All these facts called into question the security in Europe. My interest on this question was a precursor to my research. Nevertheless, we must look back to the past in order to understand the European security policy.

The temporal starting point with that work was fixed on 2003. Examining many documents and doing a first look at the history, there is one aspect that was interesting and important: the multilateralism adopted and reinforced every year. So, if we want to understand the European security policy we should look over this key aspect of the contemporary international system. Analysing it, we will get to know why the security policy is how it is but we will understand a more and more complex, changeable and interdependent society.

The starting hypothesis I want to prove through this research is the next one: “the security policy of the European Union is more multilateral in 2016 than it used to be in 2003”.

## **2. Description of key strategic documents**

There are many key documents that we have to take into consideration if we talk about the multilaterality of the EU’s Security Policy. In the current project, these are separated in two sections. Firstly, the 2003 ESS together with the 2008 report will be addressed. The 2003 is the basis of the European multilaterality while the one in 2008 tries to modify it. Secondly, the new strategy of 2016 will be introduced.

### **2.1. The ESS in 2003 and the 2008 report**

As De Carlos said, in March 2002 a conference of European academic and politicians experts was celebrated to discuss about the important issues in matters of security after the 9/11 (De Carlos, 2016:3). The terrorist attack was a turning point in the history because, before this date, an asymmetric warfare of this level have never happened. An asymmetric warfare makes reference to a conflict whose actors are not in the same level in terms of resources and personnel. In this case something incredible happened, just a few men members of a terrorist group killed a

huge number of people and caused fear and panic among the population (Gulsby, 2010: 65, 66). Now internal and international security are connected. So, the international society is interconnected and this give us the possibility to go to any place in the planet because of the vanishing of the space-time dimension and it's positive in some way but the threats of the world have the same advantage. They are connected around the world and makes the world more vulnerable than in past times. That's why the 2003 ESS is done in a context of an increasing multilateralism. Every time states tries to cooperate more to solve their problems through multilateral institutions as it is the EU. As Schilder and Hauschild say, Europe has to reinforce the security in its neighbourhood because dangers occurring in bordering regions can provoke damage in its own territories (Schilder & Hauschild, 2005:7). This is a new strategy to deal with new and more complex problems. The key threats stated in that document are terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, regional conflicts, state failure, organised crime, poverty, diseases and environmental destruction (European Council, 2003: 3, 4).

The 2008 report on the implementation of the European Security Strategy starts explaining that have been 5 years since the adoption of the 2003 strategy. It gives a positive evaluation of it. It says that the Balkans area is better now and that this strategy has created strong partnerships. However, it says as well that there are many unsolved conflicts not only in the Middle East but also among the European neighbourhood. The international society is every time more global connected and interdependent and it brings new opportunities as well as new dangers. The 2008 report basically is like an annex to the 2003 strategy that adds new dangers to the ones already addressed. These problems are such as illegal immigrations or piracy. Information systems and energy supplies are more vulnerable now as well. Finally this report makes some reference to the necessity of the cooperation with the UN due to having common objectives and says that EU and NATO must deepen their strategic partnership. The same is said about the AU, OSCE and ASEAN (European Council, 2008:1).

## **2.2. The new and global strategy presented in 2016**

De Carlos also said that the necessity of a new strategy to replace the 2003 one was already agreed in 2014 when Federica Mogherini was named High Representative. On May 2015, the Council of Foreign Policy asked the High Representative to work in the elaboration of a new strategy adaptable to the present. It is evident that the changes in the international context and the ones in the own Union provoked a necessity of a new strategy to deal with a new reality (De Carlos, 2016:12).

After the failure trying to renovate the 2003 security strategy through the 2008 report it is time to create a new strategy. The context is totally different now; the perception of threats is higher than it used to be in earlier times. The European security is being threatened and that's why one of the most important concepts in this new strategy is the global dimension. It wants to create a resilient society to help extending common values as democracy to strengthen the normative power that this document wants to promote in order to guarantee the Union but also the UE to become a the main actor of the international system (Gobierno de España, 2016). It also assert that the economic growth is still not enough to satisfy the necessities of the population in some underdeveloped countries in Africa and Asia bringing intensive conflicts (European Unión, 2016b:5).

This document rely on the European integration and on a strong multilateralism. It is important to take into account, a part from the terrorism, the internal crisis in the EU provoked by the claim of the United Kingdom (UK) to leave the Union. In relation to the multilateralism, it also suggests a stronger relation with NATO. The strategy uses the regional level as a reference in the relations with other parts of the world. With all of this the EU looks forward to promote integration and the States who accomplish the requirements stated on the European Treaties will be able to join the Union (European Union, 2016b:18).

This document keep on task some elements of the 2008 report like the cyber-security, energetic security and terrorism as in new factors like improve the strategic communication. It means investment on public diplomacy and faster responses to contemporary conflicts and problems (European Union, 2016b: 16, 17). Apparently this new strategy tries to modify the last one and have a willingness of change, but it uses similar concepts adding some news but not changing the base of the strategy.

### **3. Data analysis and interpretation**

Before start analysing the multilateralism of the EU security policy is important to know about the CSDP EU missions and operations and about multilateralism. For the analysis and interpretation of the conclusion, a database elaborated by Danilo Di Mauro (European University Institute), Ulrich Krotz (European University Institute) y Katerina Wright (European University Institute) will be taken as a reference. In the current document this database will be divided into different parts in order to make every argument clear.

### **3.1. Database of CSDP missions and IGOs participants. The strongest partnership: UN**

In the table A found down below in the next page there are all the CSDP missions launched taking into account the date of start from the first one in 2003 to the last one in 2014. There are 32 missions and operations. It is really interesting the fact that 23 of these 32 are only civilian with the exception of "EU Support to AMIS (Darfur)" that is mixed. It means that cooperation is not understood as the classical militar conception of it. Military missions used to be shorter than the civilian ones. Civilian missions try to solve more complex conflicts, so it needs more time. Both types have a different nature.

Taking as a reference the starting year of each mission is perfectly observable that there were more launched missions in the period 2003-2008 than from 2009 to 2016. If we introduce the year when the mandate of the mission come to its end it is perfectly clear that the category 2009-2016 grows a bit but it's not a real growth in launched missions because they are missions, for instance, that started in 2003 and have been extended until 2012. We can guess that this huge number of missions during the period 2003-2008 is due to the creation of the European Security Strategy in 2003. Once it is normalized this tool becomes old-fashioned for a new and every time more complex conflicts. That's why it was created the 2008 report to revise the 2003 ESS but it wasn't so effective. Now it is important to see how the 2016 ESS works, it is new and it should be more efficient to solve contemporary conflicts but we don't have statistics to prove if the number of missions increased and with it the multilateralism for this time. Nevertheless, I don't think it will make big changes because we can find new concepts in this strategy but, as it was stated previously, the base of the strategy is the same. If we want to change the status quo the best would be to elaborate a new security strategy from zero. We should change the base and not reuse the last one.

Once the basic information about the missions is correctly stated, is necessary go a step further and introduce new variables. In the next table is observable the OIG interactions with the EU in relation to the CDSP missions. Cooperation is an essential variable to measure the multilaterality of the EU Security policy:



Table A. List of CSDP EU missions and IGO's interactions

Mission Name	Starting Year	Extension /End	Ended mission	Type	Coop· OSCE	Coop· UN	Coop· NATO	Coop· ASEAN	Coop· AU
EU Police Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina (EUPM BiH)	2003	2012	YES	CIVILIAN	PRESENT	PRESENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Police Mission PROXIMA, Former Republic of Yugoslavia (Proxima/ FYROM) 1 AND 2)	2003	2005	YES	CIVILIAN	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Military Mission ARTEMIS, Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	2003	2003	YES	MILITARY	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Military Mission CONCORDIA/ FYROM, Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia	2003	2003	YES	MILITARY	ABSENT	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Rule of Law Mission Georgia (EUJUST THEMIS)	2004	2005	YES	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Military Force in Bosnia. and Herz· (EUFOR ALTHEA/ BiH)	2004	2015	NO	MILITARY	ABSENT	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Border Assistance Mission in Rafah (EUBAM RAFAH)	2005	2016	NO	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT

EU Security Sector Reform Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (EUSEC RD Congo)	2005	2016	NO	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
Aceh Mission-AMM	2005	2006	YES	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT
EU Police Mission in Palestinian Territories (EUPOL COPPS/ Palestinian Territories)	2005	2016	NO	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
Moldova and Ukraine Border Mission (EUBAM Moldova - Ukraine)	2005	2015	NO	CIVILIAN	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Police Advisory Team Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (EUPAT)	2005	2006	YES	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Support to AMIS (Darfur)	2005	2007	YES	CIVILIAN-MILITARY	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	PRESENT
EU Integrated Rule of Law Mission Iraq (EUJUST LEX-Iraq)	2005	2013	YES	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EUPOL Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of Congo	2005	2007	YES	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT

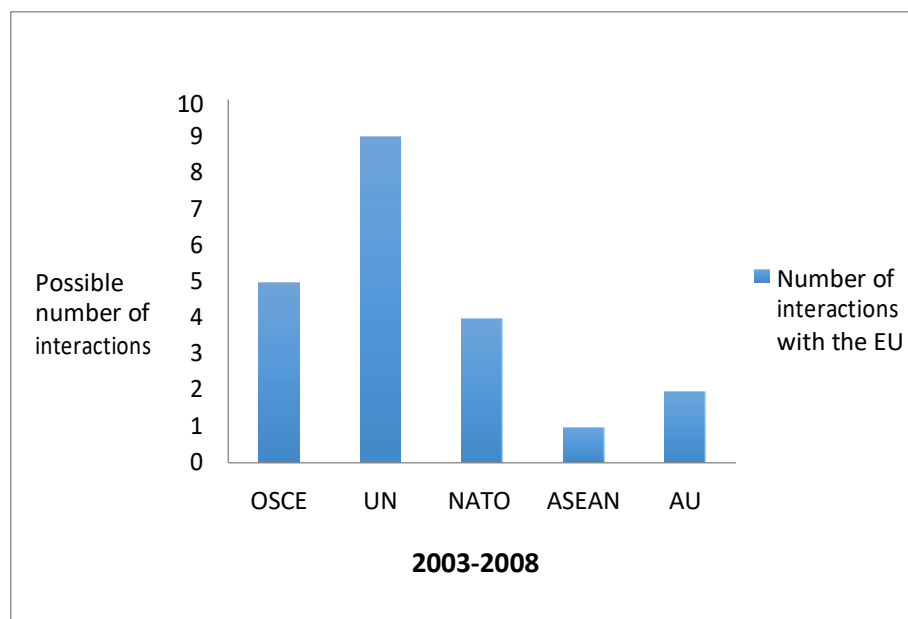
EU Military Force in EUFOR RD Congo	2006	2006	YES	MILITARY	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Police Mission AFGHANISTAN (EUPOL)	2007	2016	NO	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Police Mission Congo (EUPOL RD CONGO)	2007	2014	YES	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Security Sector Reform in Guinea-Bissau (EU-SSR)	2008	2010	YES	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
European Union Monitoring Mission Georgia (EUMM Georgia)	2008	2016	NO	CIVILIAN	PRESENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU- NAVFOR Somalia	2008	2016	NO	MILITARY	ABSENT	PRESENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	PRESENT
EU Rule of Law Mission in Kosovo (EULEX KOSOVO)	2008	2016	NO	CIVILIAN	PRESENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Military Bridging Mission (EUFOR TCHAD/RCA)	2008	2009	YES	MILITARY	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Somalia Training Mission (EUTM Somalia)	2010	2016	NO	MILITARY	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	PRESENT

EU Regional Maritime Capacity Building for the Horn of Africa and the Western Indian Ocean (EUCAP Nestor)	2012	2016	NO	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	PRESENT
EU Aviation Security South Sudan (EUAVSEC South Sudan)	2012	2014	YES	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Capacity Building Sahel Niger (EUCAP Niger)	2012	2016	NO	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Training Mission Mali (EUTM Mali)	2013	2016	NO	MILITARY	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Border Assistance Mission Libya (EUBAM Libya)	2013	2016	NO	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Advisory Mission for Civilian Security Sector Reform Ukraine (EUAM Ukraine)	2014	2016	NO	CIVILIAN	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT
EU Military Force RCA (EUFOR RCA)	2014	2015	YES	MILITARY	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	PRESENT
EUCAP Sahel Mali	2014	2016	NO	CIVILIAN	ABSENT	PRESENT	ABSENT	ABSENT	ABSENT

Source: (Di Mauro D., Krotz U. & Wright K, 2017)

As we can see the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the United Nations (UN), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) and the African Union (AU) are the main IGOs taken into account for that research. In order to make it simple and understandable we are going to divide the Mr.Di Mauro's, Mr.Krotz's and Ms.Wright's database in two categories again: from 2003 to 2008 and from 2009 to 2016. If we take as a reference to do that chronological division the starting year of the missions the results are the following graphs:

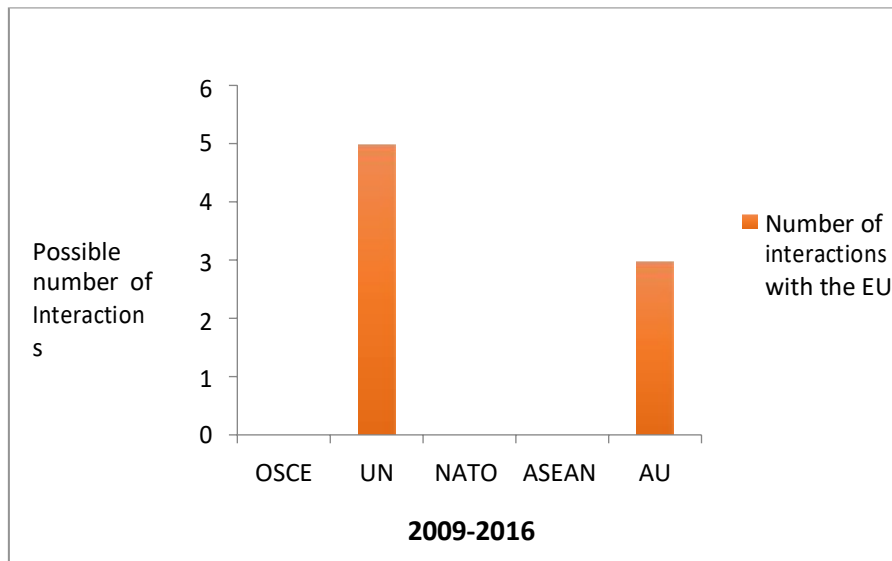
**Table B. Multilateralism: taking as a reference the starting year**



**Source: Own elaboration**

The graph above represents the multilateralism of the CSDP EU missions from 2003 to 2008 taking as a reference the starting year of each mission. How to measure this? Through the count of the number of interactions of OSCE, UN, NATO, ASEAN and AU with the EU. While the axis Y represents the possible number of interactions from 0 to the quantity of the most OIG interacted+1, the axis X makes reference to the chronological category which can be "2003-2008" or "2009-2016". In this case is the period that goes from 2003 to 2008. The axis Y and X of the next 3 graphs will content the same variables just substituting 2003-2008 for 2009-2016 in 2 cases. So, taking as a reference the starting year for both categories of time will be obtained an evolution of multilateralism for the EU security policy.

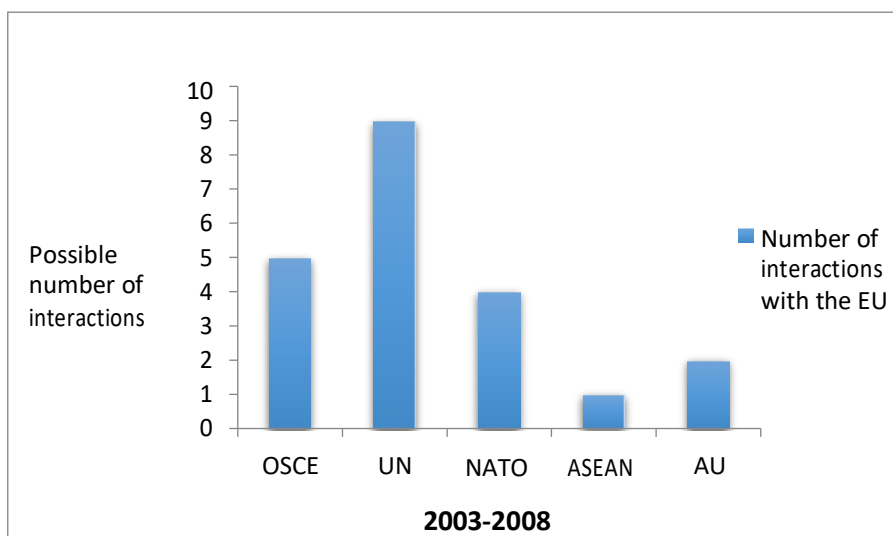
**Table C. Multilateralism: taking as a reference the starting year**



Source: Own elaboration

The UN-EU relation is the strongest one in both categories. It is true that the general trend decreases much more in the period 2009-2016. Nevertheless, these numbers don't make reference to the reality because as we said we took the starting year of the missions as a reference. In the period 2009-2016 are not included the missions that started between 2003 and 2008 but are extended until the second category. If we do that we obtain the next new graphs:

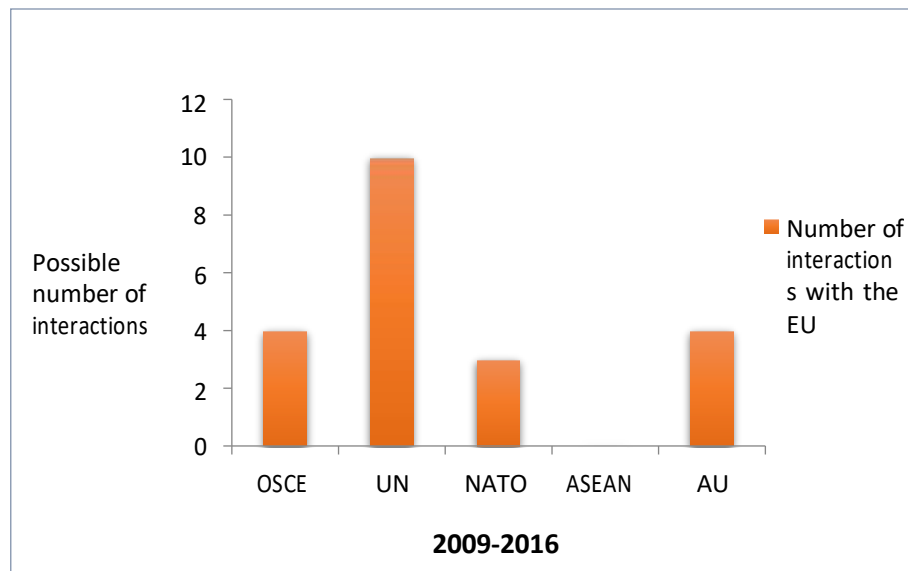
**Table D. Multilateralism: including in both categories missions that start in the first and finish in the second one**



Source: Own elaboration

In this case the statistics are quite similar in each category with no big changes. UN is still the stronger partnership of the EU followed by OSCE, the AU and NATO. The regional organisation ASEAN remains the weakest and the furthest one in relation to the EU.

**Table E. Multilateralism: Including in both categories missions that start in the first and finish in the second one**

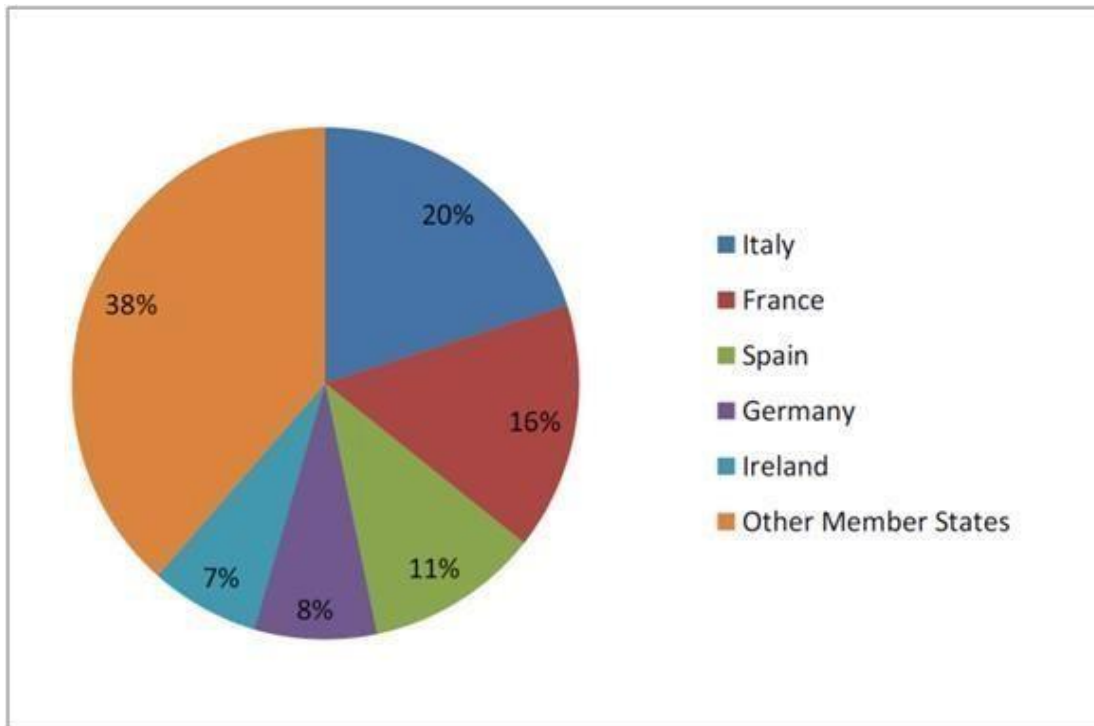


Source: Own elaboration

Now we will focus in the most important EU partnership: the UN. Many UN missions involve forms of regional cooperation under Chapter VIII of the UN Charter. While EU cooperation was initially shaped by ideas of a closely coordinated division of labour, this was soon outweighed by independent CSDP missions operating in parallel to the UN. Pietz says that such independent missions reflected the increasing weight of the European foreign policy and a European wish for greater autonomy (Pietz, 2013:2). However, the cooperation between the EU and the UN has been and it is currently decisive for the European security evolution. The connection between UN and the EU CSDP missions gives legitimacy to the EU making its strategy a collective and global one (EU Institute for Security Studies, 2009:119).

We saw the implication of the UN in the CSDP EU missions, now we will see in some way the reverse situation. What is the implication of the European states in the UN peacekeeping missions? These are the statistics in relation to the EU Member States that contribute most to the UN peacekeeping missions in terms of personnel, extracted from the European Parliament Research Service Blog. This graph is from 2015. Italy and France are in first place with 20% and 16% respectively and Spain is in the third place quite far from France and Italy with 11%.

**Table F. Top 5 Member States in personnel contributions to UN missions out of total, collective EU Member States' contributions**



Source: (European Parliament Research Service Blog, 2016)

However, as we can observe in the following table (table G) extracted from UN peacekeeping mission informational website, European states are not the most military and police contributors. States from EU are far from war but as we said in many chapters before, the EU cooperates closely and intensively with the UN. Nevertheless, this cooperation is pure political and economical but not military. Italy that was the most important contributor from Europe to the UN in 2015 is in 2016 just in the 24 position of military and police contributors.

**Table G. Ranking of military and police contributions to UN Operations**

Number	Country	Total
1	Ethiopia	8.295
2	India	7.710
3	Pakistan	7.156
4	Bangladesh	6.862
5	Rwanda	6.152
6	Nepal	5.184
7	Senegal	3.600
8	Burkina Faso	3.040



9	Ghana	2.935
10	Egypt	2.869
11	Indonesia	2.745
12	China	2.630
13	Tanzania	2.307
14	Nigeria	2.171
15	Nigeria	1.798
16	Togo	1.657
17	Morocco	1.615
18	Chad	1.552
19	South Africa	1.433
20	Uruguay	1.430
21	Brazil	1.291
22	Cameroon	1.146
23	Benin	1.082
<b>24</b>	<b>Italy (EU)</b>	<b>1.077</b>

Source: (United Nations Peacekeeping, 2016)

### 3.2. The hypothesis testing with the supporting data

The first 4 graphs used in the last section of the current document were extracted from 2 tables I kept for this part of the research. It has the same meaning but will be more useful to test clearly the starting hypothesis. Once again it is important to make a statement about both tables. The factor that we take into account to include a mission in each category is totally different in each table. So, the analysis of the data and the results gotten from each one are different.

On one hand we have the table H. Big differences from 2009 to 2016 can be observed in relation to the category 2003-2008. OSCE goes down from 5 interactions to 1, the UN falls in 4 interactions and NATO is not present anymore. There is only a growth of 1 interaction if we talk about the AU but it's not decisive. The general trend with this data is of decreasing.

Table H. Taking as a reference the starting year

2003-2008. Number of interactions					2009-2016. Number of interactions				
OSCE	UN	NATO	ASEAN	AU	OSCE	UN	NATO	ASEAN	AU
5	9	4	1	2	1	5	0	0	3
<b>Total: 21</b>					<b>Total: 9</b>				

Source: Own elaboration

In the other hand we have the table I. In this case OSCE decreases in 1 interaction, the UN goes up in 1 more, NATO and ASEAN decrease 1 both and the AU gets 2 more interactions than in the first period. Since there are not so much big differences between 2003-2008 and 2009-2016 we can't say 100% for sure that the multilateralism of the EU security policy is bigger now than it used to be. However, we can say that there are softly stronger relations EU-UN and EU-AU in the second period than with the others IGOs. We can say as well, as it is stated in the table A and due to that the majority of the missions are "civilian" more than "military", it is normal to imagine why the NATO role decreases a bit.

This reinforced relations EU-UN and EU-AU are not just this. The number of EU's interactions increased with the UN and the AU because from 2009 to 2016 there are many CSDP and UN peacekeeping missions launched in Africa. In this continent there is a triple cooperation between these actors. An example of this is the visible participation of the AU in UNAMID, MINURCAT, AMIS and EUFOR Tchad/RCA (Derblom, Frisell & Schmidt, 2008: 4).

It is also important to talk about the curious ASEAN's situation on this table. It is the organisation with less interactions in both tables.

Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Brunei, Vietnam, Laos, Myanmar and Cambodia are the ten members of the organisation. Very influent States like South Korea, China or Japan are not included. As it is stated in the ASEAN Declaration and the ASEAN University Network says when talking about ASEAN's history, the aims the organisation are "to accelerate the economic growth, social progress and cultural development in the region through joint endeavours in the spirit of equality and partnership in order to strengthen the foundation for a prosperous and peaceful community of Southeast Asian Nations" (ASEAN University Network, 2016). Even if it's open to regional cooperation, ASEAN is way more focused on Asiatic countries. This plus the fact that the State Members have no a bigger influence in the world as China or Japan do, can explain why this low levels of the organisation in terms of security when we talk about multilateralism.

**Table I. Including in both categories the missions that start in the first and finish in the second one**

<b>2003-2008. Number of interactions</b>					<b>2009-2016. Number of interactions</b>				
OSCE	UN	NATO	ASEAN	AU	OSCE	UN	NATO	ASEAN	AU
5	9	4	1	2	4	10	3	0	4
<b>Total: 21</b>					<b>Total: 21</b>				

Source: Own elaboration

So, taking the data of the table H the statement that the EU security policy is less multilateralist can be made. However, if we talk about the data in the table I is not so clear that there is more or less multilateralism in the EU security policy. In table H there are 21 missions (2003-2008) and 9 (2009-2016) while in table I there are 21 and 21 in both categories. As we said, there is not a bigger multilateralism in general but it is true that the relations between actors are not the same and there are some changes in the nature of the missions can determine this fact. A variable that condition these relations is the location of the missions. One example of this is the case of the AU's more intensive participation in peace operations in cooperation with multilateralist institutions.

#### **4. Conclusion**

The EU's security policy is now more related with some different and specific IGO'S than during the years 2003-2008. The order of IGOs that have more direct interactions with the EU have changed as it is stated on table H. The UN is still the most important partnership but followed by OSCE, AU and NATO in the same order. It is important to explain that relations between EU-UN are not a one based on soldiers' contributions but are based on normative power including the political, economical and social dimension. It is stated that major soldier's contributors to UN peacekeeping missions are poor countries or States with a huge quantity of population.

However, it is true that the number of launched missions and operations in the period 2009-2016 is quite shorter in comparison with the years 2003-2009. This can be proved if we take a look to table A. If we just focus on table H we can see that taking as a reference to include missions in both categories the starting year of each mission, the category 2009-2016 is almost empty. It doesn't mean that there is no the necessity of the multilateralism anymore because the international society is every time more global and connected. The frontiers of time and space have disappeared. With the borders of the states blurred and the rise of a new type of conflicts not focused just on states but in a great variety of transnational actors, cooperation

and multilateralism become even more necessary. Therefore, in table D it is clearly observable that the number of IGO's interactions remains slightly similar taking into account the extensions of mandates of some missions. So, in the end, the number of missions is not so different if we don't take the starting date as a variable of control.

We could maybe say that the 2003 ESS have remained not so efficient due to the necessity of the renovation of it. The conflicts that threaten the security in Europe and in the world are in constant change. A conflict is developing itself all the time and having the same strategy from 2003 to 2016 is not the best choice to solve a complex problem. It has been too much time with the same strategy.

Coming again to the question that encourage this research to exist, we can say that there is not much more or so less multilateralism in the EU's security policy. It grew a lot during the years 2003-2008, specially the first years that the strategy was implemented but it didn't grow more in the period that goes from 2009 to 2016. It maintained a regular line until 2016. It would be really interesting to research about the same topic a few years after the implementation of the 2016 ESS to see if the international society is taking the properly way to cooperate in order to do the world a safer place.

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